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CONTENTS.—*Irvine. Stand.* 865. *Read. Ball,* 871. *Ext. from Monit.* 875. *Sebastiani,* 880. *Hague,* 880. *Montrichard,* 880. *Vienna,* 881. *Stutgard,* 891. *Constance,* 881. *Paris,* 882. *P oc. in Parl.* 882. *Sum. Pol.* 886. *Mr. Moore's Mot.* 886. *Mr. Windham,* 888. *Ney,* 890. *Malta,* 890. *C. D'Auvergne,* 890. *Navy Bill,* 891. *Woolman. Bill,* 895. *H. Addington,* 896.

INVINCIBLE STANDARD.

The Narrative, which I last week published on this subject, has excited an uncommon degree of public curiosity, and, I am proud to add, of generous public feeling. About *forty* of the portrait of the brave LUTZ have been sold; the first purchasers were Lord and Lady Folkestone, the former five prints, and the latter two.—I have received a great number of letters on the subject, from different parts of the kingdom, all expressing the utmost admiration of LUTZ, and entirely approving of my humble endeavours in his behalf. Amongst these letters there is one, which, with the omission of the name of the writer, I shall take the liberty to insert here, as it appears to me to contain the general sentiments of all those who have done me the honour to write to me on this occasion; and, as it contains, moreover, a hint which I hope will be turned to account.

Bath, Dec. 27, 1802.

"SIR,—I have read with particular interest your account, in the last Register, of the gallant achievement of Antoine LUTZ, in seizing the standard of the corps, termed Invincibles, in the glorious battle of the 21st March, 1801, near Aboukir in Egypt; and although your plain narrative tears the laurel from a Briton's brow, yet as *Tros Tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine habetur*, I rejoice that you have restored the 'hard earned honours of the well fought field' to him who so heroically won them. I have to request the favour of you to send me one of the best impressions of your gallant Protégé. At the same time I should be very unwilling that the affair should die away, without some signal mark of public acknowledgment conferred on Lutz. The City of London very properly, in their Common Hall assembled, publickly granted *a pension for life* to the daring seaman, who rescued, at the imminent risque of his life, the dispatches of Buonaparté from entire loss, when thrown overboard and sinking at the instant of "the capture of the French corvette, in the "Mediterranean by our fleet, that was "carrying them to France. Perhaps the "recovery of these dispatches led the way, "though remotely, to the capture of this "very trophy of national glory, upon which "we so justly pride ourselves: and while "we reward the daring sailer, shall the "gallant soldier not taste the bounty of an "admiring public? Upon revolving these "circumstances in my mind, I beg leave to "submit to your consideration, whether it "would not be very proper to endeavour "to raise a fund, wherewith to purchase "for Lutz some situation in that army, in "which this brave fellow has so eminently "distinguished himself; such, for instance, "as a Quarter-Master's Warrant in the "cavalry, or a like situation in the infantry. "This would be rewarding him in a way "most congenial to a soldier's feelings, and "have the good effect of constantly shewing to his fellow soldiers, that true merit "will ever find its reward from a British "public, that a friendless foreigner in the "British service, unknown but by his brave "conduct and good discipline, by those "and those only, found, in the fostering "hand of a grateful nation, that distinction and promotion, which ever ought "unerringly to accompany such valour "and like successful enterprize; and that "while the highest dignities await the victorious commander, the common soldier's "heroism shall not be forgotten amidst the "din of triumph, but his well earned fame "shall find its due estimate and reward "here, and go down to posterity along "with that of his superior, an example of "imitation to his fellow soldiers. With "these sentiments thus strongly impressed "on my mind, I am very anxious that a "subscription should be set on foot for this "purpose, and I do think among your "numerous readers an adequate sum might "very soon be raised. Should you incline "to my opinion and one should be commenced, I beg the favour of you to put "down my name for five guineas, which I "will cause to be paid to you so soon as

"you may apprize me of having done so.
"—I remain, Sir, your humble Servant,

* * * * *

Yes! the man who jumped overboard, and saved the dispatches of Buonaparté, was rewarded with *a pension for life*, by the City of London, in Common Hall assembled. John Saunderson, the sailor who, during the heat of the battle of Camperdown, went aloft and nailed to the mast, the flag of his admiral, which had been shot away by the enemy, received a very handsome gratuity; enough to enable him to live at his ease, and to make a comfortable provision for his aged parents. "But, the men thus "rewarded were *natives* of this country!" This will be the observation of some few persons; but, as if it were decreed that nothing should be wanting in support of the claim of LUTZ; as if no proof should be wanting of the injustice of those who would with-hold a reward from him, the history of the war furnishes an instance of a *foreigner*. I allude to Mr. *Goddard*, an American. He was a prisoner of war on board the French privateer the Jean Bart, which privateer was going to France from the United States, and had the French minister Fauchet's dispatches on board. The Jean Bart was, in the channel, obliged to strike to a British frigate, and, while the frigate's boat was making towards her, the French captain threw the dispatches overboard, when Goddard (whose family had been loyalists, and who had been one himself) most gallantly jumped over the side after them, and was lucky enough to keep them afloat, till he was taken up by the boat of the frigate.—Goddard (whose rank in life was that of captain of a merchantman) was offered a good situation in the West-Indies, which he refused; he was, I believe, also offered the Consulship of Rhode Island, worth about £500 a year. He wished for a situation in England; but whether he finally got one, or took a sum of money I know not, nor, indeed, is the fact at all necessary to the inference which I mean to draw from this statement, which is, that, the quality of *foreigner* has not, heretofore, been regarded as a bar to claims on national gratitude and national justice. And shall it be so regarded now? Shall this selfish exception be made in only *one* case; and that, too, in a case which calls aloud for an extraordinary exertion of liberality; in a case calculated to banish every sinister feeling from the breast?

As to the hint of my correspondent, relative to a subscription for the purpose of purchasing a commission for LUTZ, it will, I think, be right to postpone that laudable undertaking a little while, for two reasons; first, to give the public time to be fully convinced that the claim of LUTZ cannot be invalidated; and, secondly, to afford His Royal Highness the commander in chief an opportunity (now that he will know all the circumstances) of proving to the world, that deeds of glory are, in the army which has the honour to be commanded by him, sure to meet with their reward.—In the mean time, the *fame* of LUTZ is spreading far and wide. The Political Register will carry it to *every court in Europe*, without one single exception. In the United States of America it will be echoed through about three hundred different news-papers, and will be known to every man, woman, and child in the country. In the East and West Indies it will circulate sufficiently; and, in His Majesty's European dominions, it has already made no inconsiderable progress. The Register itself is read by a vast number of persons. There has been a great extra demand for the narrative, which will take altogether upwards of five thousand stamps, and will bring into the stamp office about *seventy pounds* duty! (Poor LUTZ might have *this*, one would think!) The London newspapers, too, have, from one motive or another, almost all of them, for once, at least, during their existence, contributed towards the circulation of truth. Some of them have made extracts from the narrative, others have mentioned it, and *all* of them have inserted a paragraph in the following words, which appears to me to have been published by the authority of some persons deeply concerned:—"We have good reason to be-
"lieve, that the statement which appeared
"in a periodical publication of recent date,
"respecting the capture, in the battle of
"Alexandria, of *what has been* CALLED the
'Invincible Standard,' "will not escape ob-
"servation from those whose business it is
"to notice it; and that it will be clearly
"and incontestably proved that the 42d
"regiment did take the standard from that
"body of men termed the Invincible Le-
"gion, whom they engaged in the com-
"mencement of the action; which standard
"was, in a subsequent attack by the ene-
"my, lost by Serjeant Sinclair, who received
"it in charge from the officer of the 42d
"regiment, to whom it had been surren-
"dered: nor will this fact be found incon-
"sistent with the documents adduced in the
"publication above-mentioned, however
"*contrary* to the *reasoning* and *insinuation* of

" the author."—So! "what has been *called* " the Invincible Standard!!!" Mark the hypothetical phraseology! " What has been " *called*!" Yes, what was so *called* in all the public prints, ten thousand times over; what was so *called* in the theatres, at Sadler's Wells, and at Astley's; what was so *called* in the Panorama; what was so *called* by the Dukes, Earls, Barons, Baronets, and Gentlemen of the Highland Society; and what was so *called* by His Majesty's minister, when, in parliament, he signified the pleasure of his Royal Master that it should be placed on Abercrombie's tomb.—Yes, not only what *was* called the Invincible Standard, but what *is* called the Invincible Standard, and which is not only *called* such, but *is* such, or *else we have no Invincible Standard in our possession.*—And, is it possible, that the nation will relinquish this honour rather than do justice to LUTZ? Will it be inveigled into this act of baseness and folly merely to gratify the spleen arising from disappointed assurance and intrigue?—My " *reasoning*" and my " *insinuation*" are before my readers: let them judge. I do not know who this paragraph comes from; but, its publication in so many papers cannot have cost less than *twenty guineas*, an expense to which an *individual* would, at least without some very powerful motive, scarcely have put himself to, on such an account. As to the *case* stated in this paragraph, I shall say nothing, until it shows its front in a more authentic form; but, while I sincerely desire to avoid a controversy, which, if persevered in, must finally bring shame in some portion, at least, of my fellow subjects, it will not, I trust, be expected, that the advocate of LUTZ will suffer either his hero or himself to be unjustly attacked with impunity, however numerous or powerful the assailants.—It is not my intention to trouble my readers with remarks on every *unofficial* misrepresentation that may appear relative to this subject: a passage, however, in the Morning Chronicle of the 27th inst. seems to demand immediate attention. After inserting the substance of my narrative, the writer concludes thus:—" The above " narrative certainly will give great offence " to the 42d regiment, who are represented " to have been in a very shameful situation " when rescued by the German regiment; " and, if this account be true, were so. If " it is false, the officers will no doubt vin- " dicate the character of the regiment by a " fair narrative of facts; and, if their regi- " ment has just claims to the honour of " having taken the Invincible Standard, will " defend them by evidence. It certainly " will afford us great pleasure to find that " the merit of an exploit so highly extolled " belongs to a British regiment and a Bri- " tish soldier, and not to a *French deserter*, " which Antoine Lutz was. We do not " blame any man from endeavouring to " vindicate the claims of a *foreign deserter* to " a gallant action he had performed; far " less do we blame any one for endeavour- " ing to strip another of honours he has ar- " rogated by lies and misrepresentations. " If the above narrative be true, Serjeant " Sinclair has been guilty of lies and mis- " representations. We think, however, " what we are sure every *British heart* must " feel, that it was possible to have vindi- " cated the claims of this French deserter " without the innumerable sneers at, and " we will venture to add, misrepresentations " of the conduct of the 42d regiment."—To this I must add the closing sentence of a paragraph, in the same print, of the 29th inst.—" It does not show much of the *Eng-* " *lish spirit*, of the want of which some " people so petulantly accuse others, to in- " sinuate that the *foreign* corps had a greater " share in the victory of the 21st than any " of our *native* troops."—With respect to " *sneers* at, and *misrepresentations* of, the " conduct of the 42d *regiment*," none are to be found in my narrative, which I have now re-perused with great attention, and in which I see nothing to lament but that want of ability, on my part, which I doubt not my readers will have the goodness to excuse. But, it seems, that " to insinuate, that the " *foreign* corps had a greater share in the " victory of the 21st of March, 1801, than " any of our *native* troops, does not show " much *English* spirit." I will not disgrace the lash by bestowing it on a sentiment so mean, so grovelling, so detestably vile and base; but I must just point out the artful attempt which is here made to drag in *all* the native corps to make *common cause* with the 42d regiment, or rather with Serjeant Sinclair. " *Any* of our *native* troops?"—Where did I say so? Where did I say or insinuate, that the " foreign corps had a " greater share in the victory than *any* of " our native troops?" I have merely stated the fact as far as related to the Highlanders and the Queen's German regiment, and even that no farther than was necessary to elucidate and establish the particular case of LUTZ. The Highlanders, while the honour of taking the standard was awarded to them, never called upon the rest of " the *native* troops" to share that *honour* with them; but, now

that something a little resembling *detection* and *disgrace* appears to be approaching, they are calling in all the "native troops" to unite with them. For what? No other part of the "native troops" ever claimed the honour, and why should they share in the disgrace? Neither the 28th regiment, nor the 90th regiment, both of which corps behaved most gallantly, have ever brought forward any Serjeant Sinclair. No, no; I must not suffer the question to be thus battered out: it must be confined to the 42d regiment and to LUTZ; and there, if it pleases God to grant me life and health, it shall be confined, 'till there remains not a single human being in this kingdom unacquainted with the truth and the whole truth relative to the subject. —The writer in the Morning Chronicle, foreseeing that the result of every inquiriy will but injure his cause, endeavours, beforehand, to prejudice the public against LUTZ, by calling him a "French *deserter*, a foreign "*deserter*;" and these phrases are studiously repeated two or three times in a paragraph. LUTZ was, as I clearly and truly stated, taken in *requisition* by the republicans; that is to say, he was seized by his rebel fellow subjects and carried by force to their army, where he was detained by force, 'till he found an opportunity of escaping to the Prince of Condé's corps; so that, he *deserted* to the army of his lawful king, a step which the writer in the Morning Chronicle must naturally abhor.—Far, however, be it from me to complain of this malice against LUTZ, who is honestly, indeed, entitled to the slander of that pen, that infamous pen, which has eulogized O'Connor, Nappet Tandy and Fox: what degree of honour the cause of the *Royal* Highlanders will derive from such a defender it is none of my business to enquire.

London, 29th *Dec.* 1802. W. COBBETT.

READING BALL ON THE PEACE.

SIR,—In my last I promised to resume my exposure of CANDIDUS' treachery, which seems to me so apparent in the whole of his first letter, as well as in some other passages of the second, whereon I have not yet touched. Indeed there is hardly a paragraph, I might say hardly a sentence, that does not contain some sly attack or other. Not only my respectable friend, but the inhabitants of Reading (as I have already shewn in one instance), young Mr. HENRY ADDINGTON, Mr. PITT and all, are included in the malice of his pretended defence.

If it had not been for the ridicule thrown on the good people of this town in a passage which I examined in my last, I might perhaps have missed that with which his second letter sets out. But, with the clue which I have furnished to this insidious writer's real designs, who can doubt the slanderous equivocation lurking in his assertion, that "a "lover of truth and decorum knows nothing "of the town of Reading." Can any man suppose that he did not mean to suggest too the obvious turn, that "the town of Read-"ing knows nothing of a lover of truth and "decorum?" For shame, CANDIDUS, to abuse in this manner as worthy a set of neighbours as exist! And for this purpose to pillage one of Shakespeare's most farcical jests! For is not this a plain imitation of Dr. Caius, who, on being told that the man whom he had found in his closet was an honest man, cries out, "Dere is no ho-"nest man that shall come in my closet?" Between ourselves, Sir, I have good reason to suspect that CANDIDUS is a professed mender of Shakespeare's good things, and the same person at whom a passage which you struck out of my first letter plainly enough glanced, as the known author of the original account of the ball and supper.

But the other sarcasm levelled at my fellow townsmen is less concealed. You had a little flippantly said in one of your summaries, that "the simpletons of Reading "had bestowed on the new Clerk of the "Pells the honorary title of Captain of Vo-"lunteers". It was a cursory stroke of satire, forgotten immediately perhaps by yourself, and, I am sure, by the greater part of your readers. You took it, I dare say, as you found it, in one of the newspapers: and who can expect you to investigate and ascertain every trifling domestic fact, with which you may point a sentence in passing, as if you were building the gravest argument on that foundation? A real friend of Mr. ADDINGTON and the inhabitants of Reading would have let this sleep in quiet; or, at most, have contented himself with observing, that the inhabitants of Reading had not the power of bestowing such an honorary title; and, that in fact, the young Clerk of the Pells was not yet even admitted a private in the corps, though he had been proposed as such and not as an officer at all. But what does CANDIDUS? Why, the very reverse of this, you may be certain: He leaves the appellation of simpletons to all the inhabitants of Reading, without once remarking, that even you could only apply it to the members of the corps, which includes a very small part of the inhabitants

of the town; he tells us, that they did actually propose to the father to compliment his son *(a young man at school,* as Candidus takes care to remind us just before) with a *cornetcy*, which in common familiar language does "bestow the honorary title of captain," and in reality gives some portion of actual command; and to rouse our indignation at the want of all dignity in the minds of our country gentlemen, he then adds, that the corps which thus desired to be put under the authority of a school-boy, whose father had just sold all his property in that quarter, but happened to be prime minister, was a corps composed "of the most illustrious "characters for property *and public spirit* in "that neighbourhood." You, Sir, have written many desponding and many severe things on the decay of public spirit among us; but you have chiefly pointed at our love of money in preference to glory, the fault of another and very different class of men from our landed gentry and yeomanry. Of them you have never said any thing that presents half so melancholy a picture to the mind. For the sake of my country I am compelled wholly to disbelieve this account; and on behalf of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, I challenge CANDIDUS to the proof of the fact.

Justice, however, I must say, is here done to my friend. He shines, and he could not but shine, in contrast with such "most il-"lustrious characters." He is represented as having seen and resisted the impropriety of this application. For the enmity of this writer seems to be even less against Mr. ADDINGTON than against the landed gentry and yeomanry of this kingdom, who are our great bulwark and support. Yet he takes care to be even with my friend by joining this incredible story of the *cornetcy* with a most malicious defence on the subject of the *Clerkship of the Pells*. You had said that MASTER ADDINGTON might be seen "play-"ing at marbles under the cloisters of "Westminster Abbey;" rather a pert way I must observe, Sir, of signifying that he has still all the levity of a boy about him.—Now what answers CANDIDUS? Why, truly, that the eldest son of Mr. Addington is not at Westminster, but at Winchester school;—admitting the full force of your expression. And as he could not but say something civil of the "young man" (for so he styles him, as you would speak of the most obscure apprentice), he refers for his character to the warden of the college, who, like the provost of Eton, better known to us in this neighbourhood, every one is aware has little or no concern in the intermediate management of the school, instead of sending us to the masters who are the best judges of the boys under them. As to the appointment itself, this false friend of our incorrupt and disinterested minister says that, if "the confer-"ing of a vacant place of honour and emo-"lument on his family, be a subject for cen-"sure and invective, all places in future "must be bestowed according to the "chances of the lottery-wheels." Now what is this, but to say, that if Mr. ADDINGTON continues to have the disposal of good things, we must expect a full share of them at all times to go to his own family? What an opinion might not the reader of this malignant vindication have entertained of my friend, if he had not lately shewn his integrity so clearly to the world by making an example of that poor ignorant Devonshire fellow, who foolishly attempted to bribe him with the paltry sum of 2000 l. though some people, I know, pretended to sneer at that prosecution as a sort of theatrical trick, unworthy the dignity of a great statesman!

The true ground both of my friends with-holding the cornetcy, and of his giving the Clerkship of the Pells (and I am glad to have the opportunity of stating it) is *precedent*. He is a politician trained to study and respect the genuine practice of our excellent constitution. By that, he therefore guided himself, on these as on all other occasions. It is true, that cornets of horse might formerly have been seen playing marbles at school. But that used only to be done for the sake of getting rank in the army, a motive which could not apply to the cornetcy of the Woodley Cavalry; and this very abuse was among the first which the Duke of York reformed when he was placed at the head of the army. All the precedents of former times have thus been reversed, and my friend acted accordingly. On the other hand, it is well known to your readers (for it was the chief defence made at the time) that there are several precedents for the appointment to the Clerkship of the Pells, and of Mr. Pitt, when he had been in the King's service about as long as my friend, choose to give the very place in question to another; if too, when after being eighteen years in that service, he had retired with large debts and little comparative emolument, no richer a man than he entered it, he still thought proper to persist in refusing the same place, when my friend so handsomely offered it to him, by what rule is it, that a fit of

romantic disinterestedness in him ought to have overturned the precedent made by Sir Robert Walpole, and other precedents of the best times, favourable to young Mr HENRY ADDINGTON! It is not in his idle whims and caprices, but in his policy and eloquence, that my friend aspires to rival his great predecessor.

It was my intention originally, Sir, to have finished the subject in this letter, and to have exposed the design of this man of mock-candour in seeking, as he does, to sow animosity between the present and the late Chancellor of the Exchequer. But in a third letter, lately inserted in the Star, he has himself pulled off the mask. He is, what I all along suspected him to be, a declared admirer of Mr. Fox. There is at once the clue of his whole conduct. I shall therefore reserve for a concluding letter the little which remains for me to remark on this writer's two former letters; that is, what relates to Mr. Pitt, with a word or two respecting yourself: and I shall endeavour to trace through all his crooked artifices, the turnings and windings of the faction to which he belongs.

I am, Sir, &c. *J. Tietenser.*

Reading, Dec. 27, 1802.

Extract from the Moniteur of the 14th instant, (quoted from the Mercure de France), containing Observations on the Speeches at the Opening of the present Parliament.

As the address to the King on the opening of the session was voted without any amendment or division, and in appearances with unanimity, it might be imagined that there prevailed but one opinion in parliament. A volume might however be made up out of the contradictory speeches to which that Address has given rise. When men are collected together in order to speak, they cannot well refrain from speaking; and as very frequently they would have nothing to say, if they were not animated by the spirit of party, it may naturally be expected that a party spirit will break out wherever a number of men are assembled together to deliberate. All the speeches that have hitherto been delivered have therefore tended only to disclose the parties into which parliament is divided. These parties may be distinguished into three, the party of the present administration, Mr. Pitt's party, and the party of the old opposition, who seem disposed to support the ministers who made peace, with the view either of preventing or retarding the return of Mr. Pitt and his adherents into office, or of forcing in along with them some of the more distinguished members of the opposition. The latter view appears the more probable.—These three parties agree together on one point, but under a variety of modification, viz. that a great state cannot be indifferent to what passes in other states; that is, that England is inclined again to interfere in the affairs of the continent, although she laid it down as a principle, on concluding the peace, that all continental alliances were burthensome. When, notwithstanding the collision of sentiment which took place between the different speakers, not one of them has explained why England pretended to insulate herself from the continent on making the peace, or why she would now again endeavour to re-establish her influence on the continent; their silence upon this point we shall attempt to make up for.—During the late war the British cabinet were loud in their complaints of having been abandoned by all their allies. No complaint more groundless. It was England that sacrificed all the powers who, at her instigation, had taken up arms. Let us take Austria as an example of their conduct. When the cabinet of Vienna made peace, it was indubitably from necessity: as England had made some conquests, if she had attempted to interfere in that treaty, she must necessarily have placed some compensations in the balance, a thing which she was anxious to avoid. Austria was left to her fate, under the disadvantages of a power laid prostrate by defeats. France, however, took no undue advantage of her victories; but it is not to the British cabinet that Austria is indebted for the arrangements which promoted and directed the peace. It is therefore incontestibly proved, that Austria was abandoned by England, who declared at the time that she could no longer concern herself with the affairs of the continent. The British cabinet made afterwards a separate peace for England, with all the advantages of a power that has made conquests, and that treats for itself alone. That is, that England restored much less than she would have restored, had she treated at the same time for herself and her allies.—But now, when there are no more compensation to be made, England shifts her principle, and tells us that she can no longer remain indifferent to what passes in Europe. In order to come therefore to some explanation of this changeful policy one must be brought to believe, that the English minister, guided solely by his own interest, insulates his country in order to preserve the profits of the war, but forms alliances that he may not have to support the expenses of it. In this consists the secret of the derangement which the space of a few months has introduced in the opinions of parliament. And these, however, are the men who attempt to complain that they are left without allies! Because they give money, they imagine themselves to be absolved from every obligation. To expose to hazard their dominions in order to increase the commerce of England, opens such golden views, that the bankers of London cannot conceive how the governments of other countries can refrain from war. They have at length nursed themselves into a belief that at their leisure they may say to kings, "Fight for "us; we will make peace without you, while we "accuse you of not having gained victories at the "stipulated price."—After having declined taking any part in the treaty of Luneville, it is somewhat whimsical that England should enter into discussion upon that treaty, in which she is not so much as named. Whether additions be made to, or retrenchments from it, what right has England to complain? Who has told her that every thing that happened since the conclusion of that treaty, was not previously agreed upon by the contracting parties? Who can assure her that many more things may not still take place with respect to which the parties interested will not trouble them-

selves, even in thinking what the parliament of England may say about them? If England was anxious to retain a pretext for intermeddling in the affairs of the continental powers, she should not have negotiated merely on a maritime and insular power.—England reproaches France with inordinate ambition; but the ambition of a nation is not to be judged of by her victories, because her victories prove nothing but her courage. We shall not therefore enter into an idle discussion of such an accusation, but simply appeal to the evidence of facts. At the commencement of the war, England had a great number of allies: at the conclusion of peace she had not a single one. France, on the contrary, had to stand alone against all Europe, while every peace she concluded procured her alliances. May it not then be asked, of which nation the ambition is most fatal to other governments, whether that which had allies and lost them, without suspending the course of her conquests, or that who had no allies at the beginning of the war, and who, at the conclusion of the peace, had allies all over Europe?—A member of parliament asserted, that France had allies merely because she favoured their projects: it is impossible to reason more happily; for it is evident that every alliance between the greater states rests upon the reciprocal advantages which they can guarantee to each other: but it were vain to enquire what advantages could be procured and guaranteed to other nations by a people who avow that they fight only to promote their commerce. England stands out of the continent.—There let her remain.—Such is at present, and long will continue to be, the first principle of European policy. —We have proved that the English court alliances only for the purposes of enabling them to wage war, and that they insulate themselves with the view of making peace, while France supports war by her own strength, and seeks allies only to consolidate peace.—This difference of conduct, so honourable to the French nation, ought to regulate the policy of all the cabinets of Europe. We ought not, therefore, to be astonished at hearing England complain of not being able to find allies; it is the contrary which ought to excite our astonishment. At this moment it is important to examine what circumstances give rise to the agitation which distinguishes the English government, contrasted with that steadiness and security which marks the conduct of the government of France. —On this point we cannot do better than quote a passage from "Letters on England," a work written within the last six months. "To describe in "a word the actual situation of the French and "English, I would say, that abroad, as well as at "home, France finds her level, while this level is "sought for by England." This phrase contains the explanation of all the debates which have taken place in parliament. There is not an Englishman who does not feel that England has lost that ascendency in Europe which she had acquired before the revolution; and, through the fault of France, this ascendency was an usurpation. The English, however, enjoyed and exercised it with haughtiness. Even now they cannot make up their minds to give it up, while they admit they are not in a situation to recover it.—Hence all the contradictions observable in the speeches of their orators. One cries out, "We "are on the brink of destruction;" another affirms, that "Never did there exist greater security." The one deplores the ruin of the commerce of his country, while the other draws the most flattering picture of national prosperity. All bold sentiments, contrary to each other, and still all are in the right. The only subject of discussion is, to ascertain from what point they set, and whither they wish to advance. Those orators who regard England only as a *commercial power*, (if these two words can with propriety be united) are in the right when they describe it as in a state of prosperity, and that it has gained more than it has lost this war. Those speakers who dream that England had united glory and commerce together, reflect that a nation cannot without injury be robbed of its glory, and that it would have been better never to have adopted too lofty pretensions than to be obliged to relinquish them. Speakers holding this opinion see nothing in the future but disaster, and they may have reason for their opinion. Other speakers (for in England there are different descriptions), admitting that England has seen her consideration in Europe diminished, contend that this consideration is not absolutely necessary to the prosperity of a commercial (*marchands*) people, and that with a good grace they shall determine to yield to circumstances, they will find themselves freed from a very burthensome illusion. These also are in the right. But allowing all these different reasonings to be right, opinions are constantly floating, and the feelings of men are agitated; and if the English were weak enough to suffer themselves to be guided by those who now predict the ruin of their country, it would incontestibly be so in a very short time—for nothing is more fatal to a nation than high pretensions or haughtiness of spirit united to positive weakness. If to this agitation which prevails in England we compare the calm which reigns in France, how very striking is the contrast! Negotiations are continued and treaties executed. No dispute is carried on about our means, for they are ample. No one accuses those who made the peace, for all enjoy its blessings. No one provokes war, by accusations against England, because if it should become indispensable there would be no necessity to make allies to carry it on. No pains are taken before-hand to make it agreeable to the national feelings, because in France all wars are naturally national. In a word, there is no necessity for speeches to prepare them for the execution of the terms of the treaty, because France was so powerful as not to be under the smallest inducement to sign any treaties which she would not wish to execute, and because she had done, during war, all that England wished to have effected.—From all the speeches which have followed that of the king, the only positive inference which can be drawn is, that the English know not what it is to be contented with their situation, their commerce, or their government. Before meddling with the state of France, their orators ought therefore to come to something like an agreement about their own situation; for how can they hope that Europe can derive any instruction from their speculations on the future plan of the French government, if they have not been able to form a decided opinion respecting the past conduct of their own ministers?—Never did any minister, more than Mr. Pitt, employ young men, and men of no family consideration; never did any minister render the spirit of commerce and stock-jobbing more predominant in a nation, possessing institutions opposite to democracy; and if he had governed the country for fifty years, never should

we have any sentiments from him similar to those contained in the following extract from a speech of Mr. Fox.—"It is supposed that a numerous "description of persons are very ardent in their "wishes for the re-commencement of hostilities; "that this wish animates the principal commer- "cial men in all the principal trading towns, but "more particularly those of the capital. I deny "it.—The hearts of English merchants glow with "too much generosity, too much patriotism, to "permit them to sacrifice the happiness of their "country to miserable speculations of sordid "interest, founded upon government contracts, "or any other means of enriching themselves by "the opportunities of a war. But, if this my "opinion of them were unfounded, I should feel "disposed to wish for the return of those heroic "follies which distinguished the heroes of ancient "times. If we are doomed to perish in order to "gratify the passions of the human heart, I "would rather their blood should flow to satiate "the romantic ambition of an Alexander, than to "swell the coffers of merchants, and of cold, un- "feeling calculators."—Nothing is more unfounded than the supposition that Mr. Fox is desirous to return into office. The above sentiments fully prove the contrary. They will be looked upon as blasphemous in a country which Mr. Pitt has bowed down under a spirit of commerce. The preference which Mr. Fox gives to the follies of an Alexander may be justified by the following observation of Mr. Bolland, viz.—"Every nation "begins and revives under the tent; even those "who close their existence in the anti-chamber "and at the toilette. The same cannot safely be "said of those who end in attending the compter: "for history does not record one that has arisen "anew from such pursuits. It is nevertheless "under the controul of a commercial spirit that "economists would reduce the powers of Europe." —We have observed that Mr. Pitt did not possess an exclusive interest over the administration which bore his name. In order to understand the cause of the disagreements between him and Mr. Windham, it must be recollected that Mr. Windham is as extravagant in his ideas of glory, as Mr. Pitt is in his ideas of commerce; every thing that is stamped with a romantic character delights the former and disgusts the latter; one is seduced by the splendor of projects, the other by the specfousness of calculations. From the following passage in Mr. Windham's speech, may be collected his opinion of Mr. Pitt's financial system. —"Commerce and capital; these are the magic "words which enchant and re-assure our minis- "ters and the greater part of the nation; but "France mean time prosecutes her views without "looking at any thing that merely resembles com- "merce, credit, &c. &c., and since the conclu- "sion of the preliminaries, she has fitted out 18 "ships of the line," [Mr. Windham said 13 ships of war, 6 of the line, and 7 frigates,] "more than "10,000 tons of hemp have been imported from "the Baltic into her ports by English vessels. "Never, perhaps, was so great an expedition as "that to St. Domingo, fitted out in so short a "space of time; and, if public rumours may be "credited, a new expedition is preparing in the "ports of Holland, and all this is carried on with "exhausted means; and what is more deplorable, "it is British capital that supports all these ex- "penses. It is supposed that France is willing "to permit us to run our commercial career, but "may not this grand edifice of public prosperity "be overturned by a breath of wind."—It appears, that the commercial and financial system has not turned Mr. Windham's head. He could rather see his country in possession of more glory, and of fewer bank notes. With such sentiments which do so much honour to the human heart, Mr. Windham has nevertheless proved a dangerous minister to his country; because he is violent in his pursuits, and not overguarded in his expressions. While drawing the picture of Europe, he has again offered insults to Russia, whom he should love; for in that empire there are no funded debts, and great things are atchieved without being instigated by a vote for public credit.—On this point he spoke as follows:—"Russia in her "extreme dominions bordering upon Asia, pre- "sents nothing but a mass of rude, uncivilised "barbarism, unworthy to be compared with the "inhabitants of the French territory."—The Russians will not think themselves highly flattered by this compliment, and Mr. Windham must get into disgrace with all our philosophers who have proved, during the last century, that light broke in upon us from the north.—

When Sir F. Burdett called upon the House of Commons to explain what a Jacobin was, a member might have got up and answered, that a Jacobin was a hot-headed politician, who from the tribune insults these nations who will not submit to a foreign influence. Mr. Windham has moreover confessed, that the most enlightened men who have lately visited France, agree in saying, that not a thought is there now bestowed upon the *Rights of Man*. These speeches have further added, that the *destruction* of England, and the means of succeeding in that design, are now the only object of every thought. So far they have deceived Mr. Windham; and this is incontrovertibly proved by the conduct of the French government, who since the conclusion of peace have not uttered a single word hostile to that union which ought to prevail between the two nations. The same most assuredly cannot be said of England.

FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Alexandria, Oct. 18.—On the 16th, the Cornelle, a French ship of 44 guns, and a brig, arrived in the harbour of Alexandria. M. Sebastiani, a French envoy, is come in the ship. His arrival here has given rise to various conjectures. The common opinion is, that he has come for the purpose of establishing a consul here; but I should rather suspect that the French govt. wants to know what we are doing in this country, and what are our views in stopping in it so long.

Hague, Dec. 21.—The French Ambassador received, by two successive couriers last night, dispatches communicating the intentions of the French gov. in regard to Gen. Montrichard, lately appointed to the command of the French troops in this Republic. The purport of those dispatches bears, that Gen. Montrichard shall not place any garrison, nor take his head-quarters in the Hague; but shall fix his head-quarters at Breda only.—Cit. Victor, Capt.-Gen. of Louisiana, arrived here yesterday, with several officers who are there to serve under him. Cit. Semonville has been in conference with him for three hours together. Within about six weeks the Capt.-Gen. will proceed on his voyage with two demi-brigades of the French troops in the pay of this Republic. He is to sail with these forces from Helvoetsluys

on board the two frigates La Furieuse and La Libre, with a corvette, and about ten transport ships. The Batavian gov. to which is confided the care of equipping these ships, and supplying them with the necessary stores, shews no great alacrity in the service. It will, however, be obliged to redouble its diligence: since the commander of the expedition has brought strict orders to this effect; and Cit. Victor is not a man to be trifled with in a matter of this sort. The Batavian gov. is now, in fact, more dependant than ever; and all its endeavours to procure the departure of the French troops, in the course of the current month, have proved ineffectual.

Vienna, Dec. 8.—The birth of the infant Archduke has been notified to the First Consul: the letter transmitted to him on this occasion, has the following address: "*Præclarissimo ac strenuissimo viro "Napoleoni Bonaparte, supremo Reipublicæ Gallorum "Consuli; amico nostro honoratissimo.*"—*Dec.* 20.—The last news received at Paris from Vienna expressly contradict the report that the supplementary indemnities to the Grand Duke of Tuscany had been finally agreed upon. The court of Vienna has not adopted the plan of the mediating powers. It has, on the contrary, proposed a different plan, which is now the subject of discussion, and will probably be, to a certain length, adopted. It appears certain, that Austria connects the negotiations upon this head with those for her claims on the Dutchy of Parma.

Stutgard, Dec. 12.—The celebrated Mr. Moore presented himself at the court of the Duke of Wurtemberg, who received him very ill, and caused him to be informed, that he (the Duke) was disposed to unite himself with France to maintain the peace of the continent, and to support the operations of the Diet at Ratisbon.—Mr. Moore, therefore, has not been more successful here than he was at Vienna, where the court, would not receive him. It is not probable that he will obtain more credit at Munich, at Carlsruhe or with the Elector of Hesse. The particular protection afforded at London, to a number of pamphlets which are published there against the King of Prussia, makes it probable that Mr. Moore would not meet with a very favourable reception at Berlin. It is even doubtful, whether he would be received at Hanover. He is thus reduced to drink Constance wine, which is certainly not so good as that of the Cape, until a new cargo of ales comes from the Indies, which will afford the means of making a small coalition.

Constance, Dec. 15.—Mr. Moore is here, and has frequent conferences with Gen. Bachmann. Some troops have been enrolled, which have been put on half-pay. Mr. Moore has sent a man of the name of Rochat to London. The Landvogt Wagner is at Constance, and has frequent conferences with Mr. Moore. The latter lives very retired. Capt. Verdmeiller is enlisting men for England. Some difficulties have arisen between him and those who recruit for Austria. Mr. Moore is president of the committee at Constance; it is composed of Gen. Bachmann, Capt. Wagner, of Berne, Capt. Verdmeiller, of Zurich, Lieut. Bravor, Gen. Rauresan, and two Englishmen, besides some Emigrants of the army of Condé, who reside near Constance. Madame Diesbach, the wife of Diesbach who was sent away from Paris, also belongs to the committee. It meets at Mr. Fingerlin's. Mr. Moore, wishing to repair to Vienna with a special commission from the Govt. that court signified to him, that it did not intend to re-engage in a contest which would embroil the whole world, and would be attended with the most momentous consequences; and that it was therefore useless in Mr. Moore to wish to repair thither. He is in consequence gone to Constance, where he awaits fresh orders from his Government.

Paris, Dec. 23.—Two English travellers lately presented themselves before the Mayor of Orleans. One of them was in liquor, and conducted himself in a most indecent manner, and was guilty of such excesses, that the Lieut. of the Gendarmerie was under the necessity of arresting him. The person arrested immediately complained to Lord Whitworth, who, concerned at the misconduct of the Englishman, and struck with the moderate proceedings of the prefect, wrote to that magistrate a most polite letter, in which he requests him (notwithstanding the dissatisfaction he might feel upon this occason) to continue to treat his countrymen with that politeness which is peculiar to him. The conduct of the ambassador is certainly very different from that of the member of parliament who wished to have the prefect of the police at Paris brought to the bar of the House of Commons, because he arrested Capt. D'Auvergne. The inquiry which it was proposed to make upon this subject, is only worthy of the little theatres on the Boulevards.

DOMESTIC.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 15.—LORDS.—The order of the day was moved for the House to go into a committee on the Malt Bill. Earl Spencer in a speech of considerable length, opposed its commitment; his lordship was followed by Lord Suffolk, the Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Carlisle and Darnley, Lord Carysfort, the Duke of Norfolk, Lords Grenville, Pelham, Minto, and Thurlow. [*A correct report of this important debate will be found in our Supplement.*]—The order of the day was afterwards read, and the bill passed through a committee.

COMMONS.—Report of the committee appointed to examine the produce of the land revenues of the Crown brought up.—Mr. Corry moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the Irish Militia Act of last session.—Mutiny Bill read a second time.—Mr. Burdon presented a petition from South Shields, against the Tonnage Act.—Irish Militia Bill read a second time.—On the motion of Lord Yarmouth, the papers presented to the House, Nov. 29, from the London Dock Company, were ordered to be printed.—Navy Bills Bill read a third time and passed.—Report of the committee on the Irish Malt Prohibition Bill brought up.—Report of the committee respecting the Drawbacks on Sugar agreed to, and bill ordered to be brought up.—Woollen Manufacture Bill read a second time.

THURSDAY, *Dec.* 16.—LORDS.—The bills before the House were forwarded in their respective stages, and some private business was disposed of.

COMMONS.—A petition from the Malsters of Henley was presented against the Wetting Bill.—The Militia Exemption Amendment Bill read a first time.—Report of the committee on the Expiring Laws, containing a *resolution for continuing the laws respecting the trade and geographical situation of Malta*, brought up, and a bill for continuing those laws relating to Malta, read a first time.—Mr. Sheridan moved "that there be laid before the "House copies of all the correspondence since the

" 26th March 1800 between the Governor General " and the Governor and Council of Madras, rela- "tive to the deposition of the Nabob of Oude, " the minutes of the proceedings of Council on " the same, the instructions from the Ministers at " home respecting that event; a copy of the will " of the late Nabob's father, faithfully translated " from the Persian records; the correspondence " between the late Nabob and the English Go- " vernment, &c. &c." Agreed to.—Dublin Bakers' Bill read a third time and passed.—Irish Militia Pay, and Irish Sugar Drawback Bill, read a first time.—In a committee of the House on the Bill for correcting Abuses in the Navy, the names of the intended commissioners were read, and are as follow: Vice-Admiral Sir C. Pole, Hugh Leicester, Esq. Evan Law, Esq. John Ford, Esq. and Henry Hunter, Esq.

FRIDAY, *Dec.* 17.—LORDS.—Royal Assent given to the Malt Tax, the Exchequer Bills, the Annual Indemnity, the Place and Pension Duty, the Irish Militia, and the Small Notes Bills, and also two private bills.—Counsel heard on the Scotch Appeal, Irving *v.* Rollo.

COMMONS.—Petitions were presented from the Chemists of Exeter against the Medicine Act, and from the Malsters of Abingdon against the Malt Duty Bill.—Report of Woollen Trade and Corn Importation Bill brought up and agreed to.—Report of the committee on the trade to Malta brought up, and the blank filled up with the words "the 1st Jan. 1804."—Mr. Tierney presented a petition from a Mr. Martin, an American Loyalist, praying for relief.—A petition from the Ship-owners of North Shields, against the Tonnage Duty, was also presented.—Felons Transportation Bill read a third time.—Report of Navy Abuse Bill brought up and read.—English Sugar Bill passed through a committee.

SATURDAY, *Dec.* 18.—COMMONS.—English Militia Amendment Bill read a first time, and Woollen Manufacture obsolete Law read a third time and passed.—Capt. Markham moved the order of the day for the third reading of the bill for "appointing Commissioners to enquire into abuses of the Navy." After several alterations it was passed, and Capt. Markham was ordered to carry it to the Lords.—The Malta Bill was read a third time and passed.

MONDAY.—*Dec.* 20.—LORDS.—The Decree of the Court of Sessions in the Scotch Appeal, Graham *v.* Henderson, was ordered to be confirmed.—Navy Abuse Bill, and five other Bills read a first time.

COMMONS.—An account of all the flax and flaxen yarn imported into G. Britain for 10 years ending 1st Jan. 1802, distinguishing the quantities of each year, and the several countries from whence imported, was ordered to be laid upon the table.—The English Militia Amendment Bill and Sugar Bounty Bill were read a third time, and passed.—Sir Francis Burdett complained of a breach of the privileges of the House. The complaint stated that, in the *True Briton*, a publication, in the shape of a letter, had appeared from Wm. Mainwaring, Esq. calling for support in the prosecution of a petition presented in his behalf against the return of Sir Francis for Middlesex; Sir Francis concluded his complaint with moving several resolutions, which, together with the debate that ensued, will be found at length in the *Supplement*. The House passed to the order of the day.—Mr. Alexander brought up the report of the Committee of Supply, which was brought up and agreed to.

TUESDAY, *Dec.* 21.—LORDS.—Godmanchester Inclosure Bill and Navy Abuse Bill read a second time.

COMMONS.—The Attorney General presented a petition from the Agents of Mr. Williams (who had presented a petition, complaining of an undue election for Tregony) praying that the time for entering into the recognizance be enlarged. A similar petition was also presented from Mr. Concannon, who had not entered into a recognizance for prosecuting his petition respecting an undue election for Seaford. Both the motions were negatived.—Mr. Corry moved for an account of the Ordinary Revenues and Extraordinary Resources of Ireland, from March 25, 1799, to March 25, 1800, and also an account of the same from March 25, 1800, to Jan. 1, 1801, the day of the commencement of the Union; and from the 1st Jan. 1801 to the 5th Jan. 1802,—Irish Sugar Bounty Bill read a third time and passed.

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 22.—LORDS.—The order of the day being read, for the House to resolve itself into a committee, upon the Navy Abuse Bill, after a short discussion, and receiving some amendments, the clauses and provisions of the bill were agreed to.—A few private orders were disposed of, and the House adjourned.

THURSDAY, *Dec.* 23.—LORDS.—The report of the Navy Abuse Bill was received, and the amendments made in the committee were confirmed.

FRIDAY, *Dec.* 24.—LORDS.—Navy Abuse Bill read a third time and passed, and the various bills before the House forwarded in their respective stages.

MONDAY, *Dec.* 27.—LORDS.—The Act "to suspend until the 1st of July 1803, proceedings under certain Acts relating to the Woollen Manufacture" was read a second time.—The Lord Chancellor submitted the proposition relative to the judgment of the House on the Scotch Appeal, Kinnaird *v.* Matthewson, the effect of which was, to affirm in part the decision of the Court below, and to remit the remainder for further consideration. Ordered.—The Remembrancer of the City of London, presented at the bar, several accounts directed to be laid before Parliament, relative to the Wet Docks and other works carrying on in the Isle of Dogs.

COMMONS.—New writs ordered for Harwich, in the room of J. Robinson, Esq. deceased, and for Gatton, in the room of J. Dashwood, Esq. who has accepted the Chiltern Hundreds. The House proceeded to take into consideration the amendments made by the Lords in the bill for the appointment of commissioners to enquire into the abuses in the Navy, and the business of Prize-agency. Amendments agreed to, and bill ordered to be carried to the Lords.—Land Commissioners Bill was read a second time, and the Knights of the Shire directed to give in lists of the proper persons to act as commissioners.

WEDNESDAY, *Dec.* 29.—LORDS.—His Majesty's Commission having duly read, the Lord Chancellor informed both Houses, that in obed'ence to His Majesty's commands, that they, the Lords Commissioners, declared His Majesty's Royal Assent to the several public and private Acts mentioned in the said commission. The Royal Assent was also notified to eighteen public and private Bills. Among the former were the Navy Abuses, the Transport Bills; the Sugar Duties Drawback, the Militia Regulation, the British and Irish Militia

bills, the Felons Transportation, and the Dublin Baking Trade Bills.—The House then adjourned until the 3d of Feb.

COMMONS.—Mr. Sargent moved, that a new writ be issued for Bosseany in Cornwall, in the room of J. H. Addington, Esq. who had accepted the Chiltern Hundreds.—The Chancellor of the Exchequer moved that the House should adjourn to the 3d of Feb. Mr. Elliot and Mr. Windham were of opinion, that at a period when the country was admitted on all hands to be in a state of unexampled danger, an adjournment for so long a time was highly improper. Mr. Addington replied, the motion was agreed to, and the House adjourned to the 3d of Feb.—[*The Speeches of Messrs. Elliot, Windham, and Addington will be found in our Supplement.*]

From the London Gazette.—Whitehall, Dec. 25.—The King has been pleased to grant to the Reverend John Wingfield, Doctor in Divinity, the Place and Dignity of a Canon or Prebendary of his Majesty's Cathedral Church of Worcester, void by the resignation of the Reverend Charles Talbot, late one of the Prebendaries thereof.—*Stockholm, Dec.* 3.—The Queen of Sweden was last night safely delivered of a Son. Her Majesty is as well as can be expected, and the young Prince is in perfect health.—*Vienna, Dec.* 7.—This afternoon her Imperial Majesty was safely delivered of a Son.

Bankrupts.—Pearson, J. Selby, grocer.—Severey, J. Scarborough, vintner.—Lane, B. Birchin-lane, ensurer.—Hill, G. Oxford-street, linen draper.—Rishman, J. C. Bridge-street, mercer.—Sturrock, J. Abingdon-street, master mariner.—Nash, T. Warwick-street, plumber and glazier.—Fisher, J. Briestfield, white clothier.—Hughes, R. Noble-street, warehouseman.—Forth, N. Kirby Moorside, druggist.—Lowe, J. Liverpool, tanner.—Smalley, J. Ellison, Wm. and R. Walmesley, Blackburn, cotton-manufacturers.

Births.—On Sunday last, at Broomfield House, Clapham Common, the Lady of W. Wilberforce, Esq. M. P. of a son.—*Deaths.*—On Monday, at her house in Argyle-street, Viscountess Bateman.—Lately, Rear-Admiral Samuel Graves.—On the 23d inst. at his seat near Harwich, J. Robinson, Esq. M. P. for that Borough.

STOCKS.	FRI.	SAT.	MON.	TUE.	WED.	THU.
Bank Stock	187	—	—	—	187	—
3 pr. C. R. An.	71⅛	—	—	—	71⅜	71⅝
3 per C. Con.	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 pr. C. Con.	85⅝	—	—	—	86⅛	86
5 pr. Ct. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bank L. Ann.	20 5/16	—	—	—	20⅜	20 5/16
Dis. S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	4¼	—
5 per Ct. 1797	101⅝	—	—	—	101¾	101⅝
Omnium	4½ dis	—	—	—	3¾ dis	4¼ dis

PRICES CURRENT IN LONDON.

Eng. Wheat prq.	42s. to 58s	Hops per cwt.	120s to 273s
Rye	35 .. 39	Hay per load	80 .. 150
Barley	24 .. 28	Beef, per stone	4s. to 5s.
Malt	40 .. 46	Mutton	4s. 0d. to 5s 6d.
Oats	16 .. 24	Veal	4s. 0d. to 5s. 4d.
Pease (white)	40 .. 43	Pork	4s. 8d. to 5s. 8d.
Beans (horse)	34 .. 38	Tallow	4s. 2d.
Flour per sack	40 .. 49	Av. of Sugar pr cw	33¼s.
Seconds	40 .. 44	Salt, per Bushel	13s. 10d.
Coals per chal.	43 .. 49	Bread 9½d the Quar. Loaf.	

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

The moment the disgraceful terms of the Preliminaries of Peace were known, and the more disgraceful principle which yielded to those terms was considered, that very moment, or, to speak with a literal adherence to the fact, in thirteen days afterwards, we asserted, that, "in future, Europe would become to this country as "much a *terra incognita* as the ideal conti-"nent in the South Seas." When we wrote this, it was impossible for us to foresee, it was, indeed, impossible for us to imagine, that the ministers, the very same ministers who then made a merit of abandoning the Continent, and whose pharisaical mob-courting partizans represented them as "too honest" to have any connections therewith, we could not conceive it possible that these ministers, contradictory as their measures had been, would, in less than twelve months from that time, send a sort of itinerant envoy to solicit connexions with the courts of the Continent, with the people of that *terra incognita*. Mr. Moore, whose happy return to England we announced in our last (p. 849) has, it seems, been on a voyage of discovery, and has been treated with much about the same hospitality that Captain Cook met with, at last, in the *Friendly* Islands.

The Moniteur, who is extremely jocular upon this subject, seems to have dogged poor Mr. Moore from place to place, till it saw him fairly off the Continent. If we are to believe the Moniteur (and, in this instance, we are afraid its statements are but too correct) the courts of Vienna, Stutgard, Munich, Carlesruhe, and Cassel, all turned with contempt from the English envoy; and, indeed, had that envoy been the representative of the Hawkesburies and Addingtons only, we should say that those courts did well; but we cannot but lament, that our sovereign and our country should be thus exposed to insult and reproach; that England, whose friendship has heretofore been courted, whose name was wont to inspire such confidence, should now be so loathed and despised.—The account which the Moniteur gives of the peregrination of Mr. Moore *may* be false; but, until the object of his mission be known, until some sort of explanation be given by our ministers, who can contradict the Moniteur? The French government knows well that they *dare* not give that explanation; and, in the mean time, it is turning their silence to excellent profit. In fact, this mission of Mr. Moore seems to be the finishing stroke to

their character: it has discovered to the world, that they retain a desire, after having abandoned the right, to interfere in the affairs of the Continent; that they wish to effect, by intrigue, designs which they have not the firmness to attempt openly, nor even to avow. *Intrigue*, indeed! They are finely calculated for circumventing Buonaparté! We have no very great opinion of their courage, but infinitely less of their diplomatic address, which, we dare say, is very far surpassed by that of the door-keepers of Talleyrand's office.*

Agreeably to our promise, we insert p. 875, the Article from the Moniteur, on which we bestowed some comments in our last Summary (p. 859.) The description of parties, with which this article begins, is almost entirely false; and, we are sorry we cannot say as much with respect to some other passages, levelled against the conduct of this country. The king's speech certainly hints, that England ought to have continential connexions, and upon this the Moniteur very justly points out the inconsistency of such a notion on the part of those who, "in concluding the peace, laid it down as a principle that all continental connexions were burthensome." It next observes, that "none of the English orators have explained, why England pretended to insulate herself from the Continent, in making peace, and why she *now* wishes to re-establish her influence there;" this, therefore, the Moniteur kindly undertakes to do for the convenience and use of the powers of Europe. "England," it says, "inveigles other powers to join her in war; she makes conquests during that war; she refuses to treat with her allies; but, at last, makes a separate peace, with all the advantages of a power that has made conquests, while she sacrifices the powers, who, at her instigation, had taken up arms." Such is the substance of the charge against this country; and, though it is in part unfounded, we are afraid, that, when the nations of Europe look at the situation of the Stadtholder, of the King of Sardinia, and of Portugal, reflecting, at the same time, that our "too honest" ministers boast of having acquired by the war Ceylon and Trinidad, the verdict, the universal verdict, will be against us.—"England," says our master, "is out of "the Continent:—there let her remain:—"Such is at present, and will continue to "be, the first principle of European policy." This is truth. We may talk about *looking* at the Continent, *keeping our eye* upon the Continent: we may look till our eyes ache; set a foot on it, or enjoy any influence in its cabinets, we fear we never shall again, till after some dreadful shock has renovated the vigour of this nation. The gross misrepresentation which this article of the Moniteur contains, respecting some part of a speech of Mr. Windham, was noticed in our last (p. 860). It further observes, that Mr. Windham is greatly *deceived* in believing, that the destruction of England is the object of France; in proof of which it states, that "the French government *has* "*not uttered a word of hostility against England* "*since the peace!!!*" But, perhaps, it does not conceive, that calling our king *a rewarder of assassins* ought to be regarded as *hostile to England?* Indeed, if the conduct and language of our ministers are the criterion of our feelings, nothing short of absolute blows can be looked upon as hostile. Returning to Mr. Windham:—it is curious enough to hear the Moniteur, that is to say, Buonaparté and his associates, it is curious to hear *them* expressing their fears that Mr. Windham should come into power, lest it should prove *injurious to England.* How good they are! How kindly anxious for our welfare! As the wolves said to the sheep: "Send away that suspicious growling dog "that we may live together in harmony and "love;" a proposition which seems, indeed, to have been heartily approved of by that sheep-like senator, whom the public papers represent as having said, "that he "wished to see *no change of ministry*; because, "as the present ministers were known to "be of a *pacific disposition*, if they were changed, such change might furnish a neighbouring power with a *pretext for going to war* "*with us.*" And thus the nation *moutonière* are to be led to the slaughter; nor have we any scruple to assert, that a people, amongst whom a sentiment so base as this can prevail, is formed to bend, and bend it must, beneath a foreign yoke. In speaking of the project of Mr. Fox (p. 344) for forcing himself into the ministry, we said: "only let "the people (in their present degraded temper) be thoroughly convinced, that your "exaltation is absolutely *necessary to the preservation of peace*, and the Hawkesburies "will be summoned to surrender their places, upon precisely the same principle as "that on which they surrendered Malta "and the Cape." Speaking, on another occasion, of the commendations which Buonaparté had bestowed on "the present *pru-*

* See the Article about Mr. Moore, p. 886.

dent ministers," and on the change of tone which those commendations produced, we observed (p. 573) "This is *now* the al-"tered tone of the *prudent* ministers; the "*safe* politicians; the men with an *here-*"*ditary disposition to office.* They have long "been aware of a design to supplant "them: they know, that there is ano-"ther set of statesmen working day and "night to prevail on Mr Pitt to cut off the "thread of their existence; but, *with Buo-*"*naparté at their back*, they might bid de-"fiance to the fatal sisters themselves." This opinion is now fully verified: Buonaparté has, in several articles of the Moniteur, taken care to give us to understand, that he *approves* of our present Ministers, and disapproves of those who may be looked upon as likely, in case of charge, to succeed them: "WE have *too good an opinion* of "the *present* ministry, to believe that they "would continue to follow that *abominable* "*system* which was pursued with so much ac-"tivity by *Lord Grenville* and his colleagues." Why not Mr. *Pitt* and his colleagues? It is remarkable, that Messrs *Pitt* and *Dundas* are not loaded with the hatred of Buonaparté, the whole honour of which is bestowed in Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, who may well say to him, in the language of St. Bruno to the fiend, "thy "curses are a blessing." The ministers, indeed, do not think them so: they like, and they seek, his applause: they feel the effect of his "good opinion:" they know that it would, even in spite of Mr. Pitt, keep them in their places: they think with us, that they have no dangerous rival but Mr. Fox; and, we desire our readers to observe, with what eagerness and anxiety they are endeavouring to show, that Mr. Fox has no feeling with respect to Buonaparté in which they do not amply participate. In short, we may yet affect to call ourselves independent, we may yet affect to *triumph* in a comparison between our situation and that of Holland and Spain; but, he who looks well into that situation, will find no cause for triumph. We some time ago cautioned our countrymen not to laugh at the poor Swiss being ordered to repair to Paris, in order to know the pleasure of Buonaparte with respect to their constitution: "Mock them not," (said we, p. 729) "mock them not, nor their Consulta; for, "be you well assured, that, unless a great "and speedy change takes place in the "policy and conduct of this government, "there will be a *British* Consulta at Paris "before this day two years." Little did we then imagine, that the Citizen General Ney was, at that moment, saying nearly the same thing in Switzerland. "Il y a," said he to the Swiss, at Berne, "des gens parmi "vous, qui veulent établir l'ancien regime: "cela ne convient pas au Premier Consul. "Des puissances étrangères s'y melent; mais "cela lui est indifferent: ses grandes victoires "le mettent au dessus d'elles; et s'il le trouve "apropos, *elles viendront à Paris recevoir ses* "*ordres!*" * England alone had attempted to interfere; and, therefore, to England alone this insolent intimation applies. Such is the answer to the ministerial *remonstrance* "in behalf of the injured Swiss:" such is the reply to the ministerial declaration, that they "would *not suffer* Buonaparte to de-"stroy the independence of Switzerland!"

We have heard, that the ministers are about to grve up Malta; and the pretext is, we are told, that Russia has, at last, accepted of the *guarantee*, which word, in the general change that has been made in the political dictionary, signifies no more than a mere recognition or acknowledgment. There are, however, it seems, two or three exceptions made by Russia, in the present instance. Amongst these, perhaps, is the quality of paramount sovereiguty, which has, for ages, belonged to Naples. Then, it is said, that the garrison is to consist of Neapolitan troops, but that these troops are to be *paid* by France and Britain; that is to say, of course, Britain alone *is to pay a garrison which will, in fact, be under the command of France!*—Oh, the "*prudent* ministers!" Oh, the "*safe* politicians!"

Since the notice, which was given by Dr. Laurence, of a motion to be made, after the recess, relative to the ill-treatment of Capt. D'Auvergne, the ministers have caused the following paragraphs to be inserted in their demi-official paper, the True Briton: "We have been *delicate* about stating any "thing respecting the affair of Capt. D'Au-"vergne, Duke of Bouillon, as a notice has "been given respecting it in the House of "Commons. Thus much, however, we "believe we may say, that *a proper repre-*"*sentation* has been made to the French go-"vernment respecting it, and we have no "doubt but that every *reasonable* satisfaction "will be obtained." (*True Briton*, 18 *Dec.*

* "There are some among you who wish to es-"tablish the antient government. This does not "suit the First Consul. Foreign powers interfere "in your concerns; this is indifferent to him. "His great victories have made him their supe-"rior; and if it hereafter suits his convenience, "*they will repair to Paris to receive his orders.*"

" As this subject" [that of the treatment of Capt. D'Auvergne] " is *now* before the go- " vernment, we abstain from making any " further remarks upon it at present."—To say nothing of the insult to Capt. D'Auvergne and to the House of Commons, what a shameful attempt is here made to impose upon the public. A " *proper* representation" has *now* been made:—the subject " is *now* " in the hands of government!" Why *now?* Why *now!* It was in the hands of government long *before* Dr. Lawrence gave his notice. Mr. Merry dispatched an express to London to inform the ministers of it. They were, more than two months ago put in possession of the subject in the most regular and authentic way; and, now, behold, when they are called upon by a member of Parliament to account for the neglect of their duty, for the scandalous prostration of the honour of the country, the moment they are put upon that responsibility, which belongs to their situation, which attaches to all their words and actions, they begin to anticipate, through the means of their hireling news papers, that discussion, which they well know they are not able fairly to meet.

The close of the parliamentary proceedings, previous to the adjournment, which has now taken place, have sufficiently demonstrated, the wavering councils, the opposite factions, the imbecility and want of union, which form the leading features of the present " *prudent* and *safe* administra- " tion." Two bills have been brought forward by the ministers themselves, which have both been defeated by their own awkward intrigues and inconsistency. To make this clear, we will endeavour just to shew the object of these two bills, and the fatal consequences, which are likely to arise to the nation at large from such drivelling folly.—The first, in its outward appearance, bore every mark of a wise and laudable measure: it proposed to rectify all the abuses in the Naval Department, and to place the future distribution of prizes on a better footing: it came into the world with honesty written on its front, and, therefore, notwithstanding its progenitor, every honest man was its friend. We ourselves were amongst its advocates, and we expressed our wish, that the same sort of vigilance might be extended to the General Post-Office. But, when we came to examine the measure more closely, and to make those enquiries, which, on such a subject, it was our duty to make, we found but too much reason to fear, that what we had mistaken for almost an excess of disinterestedness and patriotism, was, in reality, the last effort of vexation, arising from disappointed endeavours to remove a most deserving officer from the head of the navy board, in order to put one of the first lord's own creatures in his stead. This bill, however, was framed with so little knowledge of the fundamental laws of the country, and with so little communication with the law-officers of the crown; it was so secretly formed, and so studiously kept from the knowledge of the other members of the cabinet, that, when it made its appearance in Parliament, not only every lawyer in the lower House gave his opinion against it, but even the Attorney and Solicitor-General differed most widely in their construction of its clauses; and the most eminent professional men, friends to the minister, and pensioned by the crown, withdrew their support, upon the ground of the measure being too strong. Under these discordant opinions the bill was pared down; the most exceptionable clauses were struck out, and various amendments were made. It passed the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords. Here a most curious scene took place. Two of the Cabinet ministers, one of which was the Chancellor himself, declared it (and with great truth) to be the most arbitrary and unconstitutional attempt, that ever had been made. They struck out several parts, including even some of the *amendments* made by the Commons, erased the whole of the compulsory clause, substituted in its stead another, which reduced the bill to a nullity, and, in this shape, they sent it back to the lower House.—That the bill, in its present state, cannot answer the intention, or, at least, the professed intention, of the first Lord of the Admiralty, is pretty clear, because the commissioners possess no power to extort confession from supposed delinquents; and, therefore, as to any purpose of *public* utility, it might as well never have passed. But, it answers another sort of purpose full as well as it could possibly have done, had it never passed through the hands of the Chancellor, and had been adopted, in all its parts:—it provides for five friends of the immaculate Chancellor of the Exchequer, which five friends will, in all human probability, receive a handsome remuneration for travelling to the different ports, for holding committees, and for doing, in those committees, nothing at all. Nor is this the only evil that the public will feel on this account: clerks, stationary, lodgings, messengers, and the whole endless train of concomitant ex-

penses, are to be defrayed, and the nation will thus have to pay about £12,000, or, perhaps, £14,000 a year for feasting Mr. Addington's friends, without even the possibility of reaping a single six-pence worth of benefit from their exertions. To suspect Mr. Addington of a *job* after his public prosecution of the foolish tinman of Plymouth for offering him a bribe, would be too presumptuous: after such a striking proof, not only of his purity, but also of his magnanimity, no one could suspect it. If it is not a job, however, it is so much like a job, that an uninformed person might possibly take it for one, and the very selection of the commissioners might, probably, be assigned as a reason for this mistake. In the first place, it is no very great compliment to the naval service to skip over *seven* senior admirals to come at SIR C. POLE (who is to be chairman of this commission), eight of which admirals are members of parliament, and each individual of them is, in every particular, full as well qualified for the post as Admiral Pole. But, SIR C. POLE is the *intimate friend of the Richmond Park Minister*.—The second is a Welsh judge and a barrister of considerable practice. It cannot, therefore, be supposed, that he can so far neglect his own avocations and emoluments in Westminster Hall (to say nothing of the time spent in his judicial circuit), as to attend this board continually, as its legal mentor:—but he is "a friend of THE *Family*." The third, MR. LAW, is a brother-in-law of one of the Lords of the Admiralty (while another of those Lords is a brother-in-law of Mr. Addington), whose feelings must be hurt, if his relation should be examined before this tribunal, and, therefore, he is very improperly placed there. If, however, no such feelings exist, the word job does not seem very inapplicable to the appointment. The fourth is a MR. FORD; and here we should have been totally at a loss to know what to say, had we not, after many baffled inquiries, at last, fortunately succeeded in discovering, that this gentleman has the all-compensating recommendation of being "a friend of THE "*Family*;" and, lest that general term should not be understood by those of our readers who live at a distance from the town of Reading, in the county of Berks, be it known, that "THE *Family*" means the illustrious family of the Addingtons, and that this Mr. Ford is the younger son of Mr. Ford, the celebrated Accoucheur! If this does not savour of a job, at least it smells very strongly of *the shop*.—The fifth is CAPTAIN NICHOLLS, a most worthy officer, whose name appears to have been inserted through mere shame, and fear of reproach; for, as the bill originally stood, only one sea-officer was nominated, a circumstance, which was noticed by Lord Temple, and, therefore, amended by the insertion of Captain Nicholls's name.—So much for that purity and economy, that desire to correct and reform, which have been held forth as the qualities and motives of the measure in question.—It has been said (and with no small degree of confidence) that this can be no job, because *no fixed salary* is attached to the commission: as if the commissioners would be more independent and upright, because they are to depend for a remuneration upon the breath of those, who have appointed them, and who may, without any great violence to the laws of probability, be supposed very likely to proportion the reward to the degree of submission which the commissioners may show to their will.*—Before we quit this subject we must just notice two facts, which have come to our knowledge, and which will enable our readers to form some judgment of the much-boasted *public spirit* and *economy* of the First Lord of the Admiralty. The Builder of Plymouth might be guilty of crimes: the necessity for dismissing him might be evident enough; but the necessity of replacing him (contrary to all the long-established rules of the dock-yards) by a man who had never been in the King's service, does not appear quite so evident, until we find his successor to be Mr. Tucker, brother to Lord St. Vincent's late confidential secretary, who is now a Commissioner of the Navy.—So much for *public spirit!*—This Mr. Tucker, the new Builder, was attending the Lords of the Admiralty in their late examination at Plymouth, when Lord St. Vincent desired him, with a view *to save expense*, to send out the ship Mars without repairing her. Mr. Tucker readily complied, though against the advice and remonstrances of all the persons of experience in the yard. The ship was forced out, and her *back broken*; to repair which will cost not less than *four thousand pounds*:—So much for *economy!*

The second bill, which has again discovered the rent in that wretched piece of patchwork, the present "*prudent* ministry," is of

* It is worthy of remark, that Lord St. Vincent, though quite well enough to do business at the Admiralty, never came to Parliament to defend his own bill.

far greater magnitude, as the blunders, delays, and want of concert, which have occurred in its progress, will not only be attended with a most heavy and unnecessary expence to a considerable portion of the manufacturers of the kingdom; but, may, eventually, contribute towards putting a stop to our greatest article of trade, and transfer that trade, in part, at least, to the hands of the French republic. Indeed, so flagrant has been the mismanagement in this instance, that persons unaware of the incapacity of the ministers even in the most ordinary concerns, would really believe, that the sacrifice of our woollen trade was to be one of the many humiliating concessions, which are yet to be made to the First Consul, in order to insure to us the blessings of that peace, which, "under Divine Providence," Mr. Addington was (as he told the jigging misses and negus-swigging fidlers of Reading) "the "humble instrument of obtaining for his "country."—But to the point:—The object of the bill, of which we are now speaking, was, to suspend the operation of certain obsolete, or, at least, ancient, acts of parliament, passed in the infancy of our clothing trade, when the manufacture itself, as well as the commerce in it, were totally different from those of the present day; and, therefore, those acts are not only inapplicable, at present, but they actually subject the manufacturer to the forfeiture of many of the sorts of cloths now made, if he attempt (as he daily does) to export them. There are several other regulations, in these old acts, relative to apprentices, &c. which it is impossible to enforce, without utter ruin to the cloth manufactory. Yet, these laws, as in the case of the non-residence of the clergy, have furnished a handle for informers to an amazing extent. The consequence of this is not only a stagnation of work, but an absolute suspense of a considerable portion of the export of our great staple manufacture. The weavers, who are subject to penalties and harassing prosecutions in this country, must and will seek for employment elsewhere; and, though the evil may not become extensive in a short space of time, there is no doubt but *Louviers*, *Abeville*, and all the First Consul's clothing towns, will be ready to receive them with open arms *. To prevent this, the treasury themselves brought in a temporary bill of suspension, which was passed, without a single objection through the House of Commons. But, as if it were doomed, that no one act of this miserable ministry should pass without a blunder; as if Providence, in order to punish them for their vanity and presumption, had resolved to make themselves alone the instruments of their downfall, no consultation, no intercourse, no communication upon the subject had taken place amongst them; and when this necessary, this important, this urgent bill, was carried to the Lord's by the secretary of the Treasury, the Chancellor and one of the Secretaries of State appeared its ostensible and determined opponents! We are far from imputing any blame to these two most honourable men, whom we have always lamented to see in such company. A bill suspending ten or a dozen laws was not to pass a Chancellor before he had had time to consider of its provisions.—Another instance of this sort was observable in the answer which Lord Pelham gave, relative to Capt. D'Auvergne, as noticed in p. 797. It was evident to every one, that his lordship had *never been made acquainted* with the real state of that case.—Such, then, are some amongst the more recent proofs of the weakness and incapacity of the Richmond-Park ministry. "A house divided against itself *cannot* "stand;" and that this sort of one *may not*, must, we think, be the sincere prayer of every man in the world, except Buonaparté and the "friends of THE *family*."

Mr. J. H. Addington has accepted of the Chiltern Hundreds, and we most sincerely wish that *hundreds* may be all he has in view. We sometime ago jokingly proposed, that Mr. Hely should be put to school, to prepare him for the Bishoprick of Durham, which is universally allowed to be the best thing in England; and we are really half afraid, that "the family" has taken the hint.

* The Spaniards have been, as we long ago foretold they would be, forbidden, to sell their wool to the English.—We shall give a detailed account of this in our next.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

MR. COBBETT's long-promised letter to Mr. WILBERFORCE was ready for insertion, but was obliged once more to give way to the Invincible Standard.—Several Correspondents shall be attended to in our next.—This Number closes the SECOND VOLUME, the Supplement and Index to which will be published on the 15th of January.

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